2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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cried light-heartedly, hitting her stomach, 'I have been turned 262
into a young girl, my heart is so light.'[1]

In an hour or so men and women gathered on the village square 535
and burst into spontaneous dancing of a type I had never seen in ordinary life. Young men charged arm in arm up and down in lines singing Bemba and European songs. They imitated mission drilling and play-acting. Young girls played singing games amid [524]
screams of laughter. Drums beat, and the older women and babies clapped and shouted. It was like some wild Dionysiac rabble, and indeed these people might have been taken for drunkards, except that they were better tempered, more energetic, and showed more initiative in inventing new games. The next day, they went to work early, declaring that their arms were strong. The excitement on this particular occasion[1] was admittedly un- 152
usual, but I have described it as an example of the extreme delight of the Bemba in the sight of meat, and of meat in such profusion that it could be used for once in an utterly reckless way.

(*d*) *Other cravings.* Old men who have become accustomed to 273
drinking beer say that they feel their stomachs asking for beer. Elderly people also long for snuff and will go to any lengths to 276
get even a small pinch. *Kuba no mupatikishya ku fwaka* means 'to be in a state of begging for snuff', but I do not know if this craving has any correlation with dietetic deficiencies. Pregnant 843
women are expected to be liable to pika[2] hungers and are said to 'ask their husbands suddenly to get them such and such'. They regularly pull lumps of clay from the walls of their huts 261
to chew, and declare their mothers taught them this custom. I have heard that some children also eat clay, but I never saw this done.

(*e*) *Monotony and diet cravings.* Most Bemba seem to be specially 262
liable to sudden cravings for different foods during the season of shortage. Whether this is due to definitely physiological reactions or to the excessive monotony of the diet at this season I do not know. To the European Bemba meals seem insipid and tedious at all seasons of the year. The foods available are not numerous, and even then they cannot all be used at any one time (cf. Chart on p. 41). There are a number of variations in the methods of cooking known, but, as in England, many of these require too much time for their preparation as a general rule. In one village

[1] *Nasanguka naba mukashyana ico mutima uayanguka.*

1 [The division and eating of the meat from a large antelope shot by the author. - Analyst]
2 [Erratum, should be "pica", = craving for unnatural foods. - A.]

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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such markets could hardly develop to a large extent, since the villages are widely dispersed, and a woman bringing in food to sell is limited by the weight she can carry on her head, i.e. about 50 lb.[1] But nevertheless it seems clear that the Bemba differ strikingly from other tribes in their ability to take advantage of modern methods of trade. For instance, no hawkers licences were issued in the Kasama district in 1937, whereas fifty-five were issued among the cattle-owning Mambwe round Abercorn.[2]

The types of trade that I observed among the Bemba in 1934 were as follows: (*a*) The occasional hawking of such objects as snuff, baskets, mats, or fish by members of surrounding tribes, e.g. the Nsenga from the Loangwa valley, who are great traders; (*b*) occasional expeditions made by the Bemba to other districts to fetch supplies of something they need, e.g. fish from the swamps; (*c*) sporadic exchanges of food for money or goods between local natives during the hunger season; (*d*) barter or sale of food to natives permanently living in white employment and therefore often without their own gardens; (*e*) the barter or sale of craft goods such as axes, baskets, mats, &c.; (*f*) the sale of grain to Europeans. Except in the case of the sales to town natives or to Europeans, none of these forms of exchange is organized or even continuous. The traffic appears to consist of a series of isolated acts which have little reference to previous transactions of the kind, and are not governed by any recognized system of comparative values.

Thus in the remoter villages the people will tell you, 'A man came through the village yesterday and sold us snuff—a lump like this (shown by a gesture)—for an eating basket of grain', and it is clear that this was a single instance and that nothing like a regular schedule of prices or rates of exchange governed the transaction. The hawker may not appear again for a year or two. The expeditions made by the Bemba themselves to surrounding territories have something entirely casual about them. I have seen parties of young men leaving a Bemba village to 'buy fish' among the Bisa of the swamps. Such groups would go off in holiday spirits,

Financial and Economic Position of N. Rhodesia. Colonial 145], 1938, p. 28, comments on the poor success of these markets; and cf. also the figures as to the number of native-owned stores in the district as 6 only in 1935, p. 53. Native Affairs Report of the N. R. Government, 1935.

[1] The lack of a smaller coin than the 3*d*. bits formerly prevented native trade developing, but the Government has introduced cupro-nickel 1½*d*. bits since 1934.

[2] Ibid., 1937, p. 53.

231 encouraged and there are now a few herds in the valley. Horses and mules are lacking. The donkey ridden by Gamitto when he made his entry in 1830 was the first of the species to be seen in the country.(1) The villagers keep poultry and some small stock, mainly goats and sheep.

FISHING

226 Fish abound in the Luapula, the riverside lagoons and Lakes Mweru and Mofwe. Livingstone collected the vernacular names of thirty-nine species caught in Lake Mweru.(2) Some fishing goes on all the year round but the season, when the men move to the fishing camps on the river islands, extends from September to January. In the shallow marshland pools the fish are speared while laying their eggs. In flowing water they are trapped in conical wickerwork baskets set in rocky falls or in the openings in a weir.(3) On Lake Mweru they are caught from canoes with hook and line. On the Luapula the people go out in their dugouts at night and drive the fish into seine-nets (*ubukonde*) by hitting the surface of the water with wooden discs attached to poles.(4) [177] Large-scale fishing is done with drag-nets (*umukwau*) which require several men to pull them. Formerly nets were made by men from barkcloth cord. [278] Nowadays nylon and cotton nets are used. Vegetable poisons and stupefacients, now banned, were employed in the past.

HUNTING

223 Hunting and fowling are spare-time activities. Elephants and buffa-
224 loes, which in Livingstone's time used to be chased into the Mofwe mudflats during the rainy season and killed in great numbers,(5) are no longer found in Kazembe's country though some still remain on the Belgian Congo side. [411] Large herds of lechwe antelope roam the swamp country beyond the inhabited belt. Fire-arms have displaced the traditional weapons.

DIET

251 The basic foodstuffs are cassava(6) and fish. Game, poultry, fruit
252 and wild bees' honey, supplement the diet. Cassava is soaked in water, peeled and sun-dried for storing. The root, after being pounded and ground
262 on a stone, is made into porridge and flavoured with groundnuts or other
273 relish. Sweet cassava is eaten roasted.(7) Fish is consumed fresh or dried, game fresh or smoked. Fish, when dried in the sun or over a fire, will keep for three months. Water-lily roots, on which, according to tradition, the aboriginal pygmies fed, are considered a delicacy. Native-made alcoholic beverages were millet beer(8) (still made), *Borassus* palm wine, mead(9) and a spirit distilled from maize.(10) Oil is expressed from palm
276 fruit(11) and from groundnuts and vinegar used to be made from bananas.(12) Tobacco is taken as snuff and smoked in pipes.(13) *Bhang* (hemp), was

(1) Burton, op.cit., p.252.
(2) Livingstone, op.cit., p.245.
(3) Brelsford, 2, 1947, pp.70, 71.
(4) Holmes, 1925, p.26.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.248, 276, 299.
(6) Burton, op.cit., p.40.
(7) ibid., p.101.
(8) ibid., p.43.
(9) Gamitto, II, p.26; Valdez, II, p.246.
(10) Bowdich, p.91.
(11) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.243, 278.
(12) ibid, p.272.
(13) ibid., p.251; Gamitto, I, p.401.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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grown extensively in the past and some Kazembes[1] were acknowledged hashish-addicts. 276

TRADE

Slaves and ivory (exchanged for cloth and merchandise) were for a long period the main trading assets of the country.[2] Salt, otter-skins and beeswax[3] were other traded commodities. The valley fish used to be exchanged for the mushrooms, honey and wild fruits of the plateau. It is still bartered with the Lungu *citemene* cultivators for millet, from which hot beer (*katubi*) is brewed. Trade with the Swahili, Arab and European merchants was the Kazembe's monopoly.[4] Ivory came mostly from the Congo side of the Luapula being brought as tribute.[5] Fish, the chief export article at the present time, is marketed in the mining areas of the Belgian Congo, only a small proportion going to the Rhodesian Copperbelt.[6] Kasenga, with its ice factory and road connection with Elisabethville, is the local distribution centre. Small quantities of cassava and bananas are also offered for sale there. 439

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Labour migration to the mines and sales of fish are the most noticeable signs of economic change. Subsistence agriculture prevails although, with the establishment of co-operative farms, the growing of cash crops may develop. 178

CRAFTS

Iron-ore, abundant in the hillside country to the east, was smelted and iron was worked[7] until the advent of the British South Africa Company. Imported trade goods have since displaced native-made hoes, axe-heads, knives and spears. 325

Cotton spinning and weaving are other crafts which have fallen into decay.[8] The rough cotton cloth mentioned by Livingstone[9] is no longer made. Mats woven from reeds, papyrus and the leaf of the *mukalala* palm and split bamboo baskets are still made by men after the rains when the fishing season is over.[10] Pottery-making was confined to women. The men worked wood and leather, dressed skins and prepared barkcloth. They hollowed dug-outs, carved wooden plates and crudely finished figures of ritual significance.[11] Dyes were procured from plants and trees and a tree-bark infusion was used in treating wounds.[12] Potash salt was extracted from plant ashes.[13] The method widely used among the Tabwa and Bena Kabwili on the north-eastern fringe of Lake Mweru,[14] where a brownish salt is obtained by filtering water through salpetrous earth and evaporating the brine,[15] may Also have been employed 28 32 [386] [317]

(1) Crawford, op.cit., pp.99, 100.
(2) Burton, p.130; Gamitto, I, p.398.
(3) Valdez, II, p.187.
(4) Burton, p.109.
(5) ibid., p.188.
(6) Brelsford, 2, 1947, p.70.
(7) Livingstone, I, p.307.
(8) Crawford, 2, opp.194.
(9) op.cit., p.267.
(10) Moore, 1937.
(11) Valdez, II, p.218.
(12) Gamitto, I, p.386.
(13) Valdez, op.cit., p.246.
(14) Livingstone, op.cit., p.223.
(15) Described in some detail by Moore.